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Why are Jews Persecuted?

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I

RACE AND RELIGION

WITH the sting of defeat in the World War intensified by the iniquitous Versailles treaty, with the Fatherland occupied by foreign troops, with huge indemnities crushing the economic life of the people, and with poverty and the disastrous consequences of the four-year horror facing them on all sides, the German people after 1918 were the prey of intense discontent.

As years rolled on and conditions failed to improve, it was only natural that they should examine their past in an effort to discover some cause for the disasters that had befallen them. Self-appointed prophets began to appear, who claimed that they had uncovered the root of the evil. The fanaticism with which they argued their case assured them a hearing, and eventually a large proportion of the population began to accept their explanation. Its very simplicity appealed to the masses; it utilized many latent currents of popular feeling; and it offered a relatively handy scapegoat for the evils that were their lot.

For the real enemy was not the stranger without the gates, the powerful and hostile neighbor; it was not the military class which had plunged Germany into the War;

it was not even some intangible thing like the business cycle or economic dislocation. No. The real enemy was the Jew. It was he who had defeated his country's armies by a treacherous pacifism; it was he who profited while others starved; it was he who supported the Republic, the visible symbol of defeat; it was he who had constructed the dangerous juggernaut of international capitalism and, by a strange paradox, the even more dangerous scepter of international communism. Here was the seemingly perfect explanation of all the current ills, and to this minority in the population was transferred all the hatred and dreams of vengeance that had been hatched in the tragic period after the War.

The Racial Myth

Accordingly a veritable torrent of anti-Semitism, carefully directed by Hitler and his aides, engulfed Germany after the nazi triumph. A social and economic boycott was pronounced against the Jews, and ruthless persecution, punctuated by the most inhuman barbarities, flared up on every side. Government-directed propaganda poured forth imprecations on the "detestable race," and the Nuremberg decrees wrote this prejudice into the law of the land. The official nazi view can be judged from a remark of Dr. Goebbels: "I hold that a Nordic prostitute is of greater worth than a Jewish married woman." Inspired by such sentiments, the campaign of bloodshed and oppression continued until the national-

socialist leaders could boast that they had established a "ghetto without walls."

The justification for this wave of anti-Semitism, which became the cornerstone of nazi policy, was found in the elaboration of the racial myth. Modern thought has nursed a brood of variegated absurdities, but none of its progeny has a greater potency for evil than have the current theories of race. Racial hatred is a very ancient phenomenon, being based on a dislike and distrust of foreigners in certain competitive conditions of life; but it has remained for modern man to perform the service of dressing up this primitive instinct in an academic tinsel and labeling the result "scientific."

Not Heredity Or Blood

That this appeal to science is unwarranted is attested by the fact that evidence gathered during a century of study has disclosed no basis for any doctrine of racial superiority based on blood chemistry. On the contrary, investigation has proved that simple people who have not been infected by national and racial ideals have no racial antipathies, even when the racial physical differences are very great. In the Middle Ages, when racial boundaries were minimized by the doctrine of the brotherhood of man and by the international character of the Catholic Church, consciousness of racial differences almost disappeared. Superiority of one people over another has been shown to derive, not from heredity or blood, but from the cultural, social, and religious environment.

Nazi Ideology

There are no fundamentally inferior races; and the differences between races, especially the moral and the intellectual differences, are not nearly so great as those which exist between individual members of one and the same race. There is only one humanity, whose divergences of form are many but not profound. Father Schmidt, the eminent Viennese anthropologist, reviewing this evidence, has concluded that the fact of a fundamentally equal endowment of the human mind the world over is a firmly established principle of modern ethnology.

But the protest of the world's most competent scientists has not prevented the development of racial myths and their application to the Jewish problem. According to nazi ideology there is one perfect race, the Aryan, which is responsible for all civilization and culture. Every great man, including the Savior Himself, belonged to this race, which can be diverted from its noble destiny only by contamination with inferior groups. All evil in the world has come from these lesser breeds, and their contact with the higher races is the greatest threat to the future of mankind. The chief offender among the alien races is the Semitic, by which the nazi means the Jew.

In the Throes

While anti-Semitism has reached its most vulgar form in nazi-controlled Germany, it is present in different degrees of virulence in many nations of the world. In fact this

most persistent type of racial prejudice is now in the throes of one of its periodic intensifications. The Arab world of today is ablaze at the "invasion" of Palestine by the thousands of Jewish immigrants who have sought refuge there under the protection of Great Britain, who officially sponsored Zionist aspirations in the Holy Land as an aftermath of the World War. Four months of bullets, bombs, and knives from Arab terrorists have made the Jewish national home about as secure for Jews as is Hitler's Reich, and the paralysis caused by the anti-Semitic general strike is a constant threat to England's position in this important mandate.

The situation in Eastern Europe is almost as serious. Poland's three million Jews are in a serious plight economically, and many elements in the population are constantly agitating for sterner measures. Within the past year anti-Semitic riots in Hungary have forced the government to close Budapest University and most of the high schools, while the regent of the country, Admiral Horthy, has a pronounced Judaphobia. The Iron Guard of Roumania, a violent anti-Semitic group, has sworn to kill or expel every one of the nine hundred thousand Jews resident there, and most of the political parties of the national union favor this policy. The Nazi anschluss in Austria has imposed on that country the tactics and principles of the German Reich. Most of the other countries of the continent harbor at least a nascent anti-Semitic organization.

although Italy under Mussolini was until recently very friendly, and the Soviet has at least officially eschewed racial prejudice, although it has shown no favor to Judaism as a religion. Here in America, with a tradition of hospitality to all races, a latent anti-Semitic feeling is beginning to make its appearance, and many observers think that the connection of a large number of Jews with the radical movements augurs ill for the more than four million of them who dwell within our borders.

A Jewish Race?

Before examining the causes and consequences of this recent wave of anti-Semitic sentiment, it may be well to make one point clear. Most people, when they think of them, imagine the Jews to be a homogeneous group, of a uniform racial type in all parts of the world. Nothing could be further from the truth. There is no such thing as a Jewish race, in the biological sense of the term. The Israelites constitute a social and religious community, certainly very strong and very coherent; but its elements are heterogeneous in the extreme.

Anthropological studies have revealed that from the beginning the Jews were not a single people of one origin but were a hybrid stock composed of Semitic elements to which had been added large numbers of non-Semitic Hittites, fair-haired Amorites, and many other peoples, who had been drawn together and fused by a common religious belief and a common culture. In fact

the long, hooked nose, which tradition and comedy always ascribe to the Hebrews, is not a Semitic trait but was introduced into the Jewish stock by the Hittites. During the whole course of their history the Jews have always absorbed appreciable infiltrations of foreign blood, a fact which partly explains the variations of types one meets among them and also their partial assimilation to the physical types of the peoples among whom they dwell. Conversions of Greeks, Romans, and other nationals to the Jewish religion occurred very frequently, especially during the last two centuries before Christ; and in every period since then individuals of different races have attached themselves to the Jewish religious community.

Intermingling

These Judaized people have been drawn from every ethnic strain, such as the Falashas of Abyssinia; the Germans and Slavs of Northern Europe; the Tamils, or Black Jews, of India; and the Khazars of Western Asia, who are related to the Turks. About the year 745 A. D. the entire kingdom of this latter people, which had been strong enough to be a formidable rival of the Persians, embraced Judaism, and for more than two centuries and a half its rulers were exclusively Jewish. The result of this constant intermingling has been that only a small proportion of the present-day Jews represent the people who once dwelt in the region around the Jordan. Extensive scientific investigations have borne this out.

Tests show that the German Jews are physically much closer to their fellow Germans than they are to their coreligionists in Palestine. The similarity appears in the head form, the proportions of the body, pigmentation, and facial traits. The census of school children in Germany, taken under the auspices of Virchow, revealed that among 75,000 Jewish children thirty-two per cent had light hair and forty-six per cent had light eyes. Many Polish and Russian Jews have the unmistakable Slavic features. Thousands of such studies, made in every part of the world, conclusively prove that there is no such thing as a Jewish race or a common Jewish physical type.

Not Race, But Religion

If the Jews do not constitute an ethnological unit, wherein lies their extraordinary solidarity? The unity of the Jewish people comes, not from race, but from religion. A few years ago it was fashionable to discount the importance of religion in human history and to regard it as a cultural excrescence without any particular significance. Today historians and anthropologists are forced to admit that religion is a very important, if not the prime, factor in the formation of any people, culture, or civilization.

In the Levant, to give an example, where from time immemorial a welter of races has mingled, the thing that determined the type of civilization an individual would possess was, not climate or economic

conditions—which were uniform—or race, but religious affiliation. On the broader stage of human history the same is true, despite the theories of the nazi, who would exalt race, or of the Marxist, who would make economics the sole determinant of culture.

Why Their Unity?

The validity of this position can be admirably shown from the history of the Jews. Forged into a national unity by the revelation of the Old Testament, these people have been able to preserve their identity for more than three thousand years because of their devotion to a religious ideal. If their unity had hinged on any other factor, it would long since have dissolved. In their early history they were carried into captivity by one of the most powerful and cultured empires of antiquity, and they survived. After their return they were subject for centuries to the stronger and more civilized Greeks and Romans, yet they grew in numbers and in strength. Scattered over the world by the destruction of their national capital and suffering constantly from persecution and intimidation, they maintained themselves, because they held fast to their religion. So true is this that the greatest threat to the continuance of Judaism today is, not the anti-Semitism described above, but the gradual weakening of the religious bond which has taken place in modern times, particularly in Western Europe and in the New World. Wherever, in history, the Jew has lost his religion, he

has ceased to be a Jew. This is as true of the Ten Tribes, whose belief in Yahweh had been perverted by pagan rites before their capitivity, as it was of the Christian converts of the first centuries, or of the modern Jew who has drifted from his faith.

Mass Apostasy

In modern times the drift from Judaism in the Western Hemisphere has taken the form of mass apostasy. The general growth of religious indifference was aggravated, in the case of the Jew, by his desire to become assimilated in the community as a whole and to remove his distinguishing marks. In Germany before the War only one fourth of the Jewish children were brought up in the traditional faith, and mixed marriages were increasing enormously. When the nazis began their active hunt for "internal enemies," they were able to uncover, in addition to the half million persons who should be unmistakably classed as Jews, at least three or four hundred thousand more who had embraced Catholicism or Protestantism or who had lost all religion and had been assimilated in the general population. Had this tendency continued at the same pace, it would be fair to predict that the "Jewish problem," at least in several countries of the West, would have solved itself.

But while rather large numbers of Jews in the modern age and at several other periods of history have abandoned their faith, there is one thing that has always recalled them to their faithful practice, and that is perse-

cution. It is a paradox that anti-Semitism always fails of its ultimate purpose, that it strengthens the Jew by strengthening his religious consciousness. Violence has never solved any real problem, and never has it failed so singularly as in the case of the Jew. Every shade of repression, from unfriendly legislation to systematic extermination, has been tried during the course of his long history. Mass deportations have proved unavailing; pogroms produced new problems; and inquisitions bred worse evils. The net result of centuries dedicated to the theory of force as a solution for the "Jewish problem" has been a brutalization of the oppressors and untold suffering for the oppressed, followed by an intensification of the difficulties which precipitated the disturbance. It is as true of the Jews as it is of the Christians that the blood of their persecuted is the most signal source of their strength.

Scapegoats

It is difficult to analyze the causes of anti-Semitism, for the irritants which produce this racial hatred vary widely from age to age and from land to land. In addition the Jews have often become the scapegoats during some period of crisis, as we have suggested in the case of postwar Germany. Again the real motives are often skillfully hidden, as when the famous charge of desecration of the Host was so often used as an instrument of economic reprisal. But several broad causes can be set down which, while they will not explain the

intensity of the anti-Jewish attitude, will at least indicate certain factors which have operated more or less consistently during the history of the Jews. These causes, which we may classify under the general headings of religious, economic, and national, we shall later discuss in detail.

Catholics a Target

It is impossible for Catholics, and especially for the shepherds of the flock, to remain indifferent in the face of this rising tide of racial feeling. So violently does it clash with the very fundamentals of Christianity, so completely is it out of harmony with the great principle of universal brotherhood taught by the Master, that to tolerate it within the ranks of the faithful would be a grave dereliction of duty. Whatever one's personal feelings may be, in the face of the obvious teaching of the Gospel Catholics are obliged to take their position in the forefront of the battle against racial intolerance. But even on less idealistic grounds anti-Semitism should find no encouragement among true followers of Christ.

In the following sections we shall show that the very reasons urged against the Jews in the modern world apply almost equally to the Church and that in many instances anti-Semitism has been followed very closely by anti-Catholicism. The passions aroused by a violent campaign of anti-Semitism seldom die an easy death, and Catholics are an obvious target for many of the ideas which inspire hatred for the unhappy Jew.

II

IS THE JEW A RADICAL?

No other human group has been accused of more iniquities than has the Jewish race. From the time when the Jew first came into contact with world forces in the fourth century before Christ, he has been the target of a wide variety of charges, some of which are manifestly contradictory. These accusations often varied according to local circumstance, so that his offense in one area was the very opposite of his supposed crime in another. These accusations also harmonized with the spirit of the age. In antiquity he was usually charged with having interests alien to the state and to Caesarism; in the Middle Ages most of the attacks against him were hidden under the cloak of religion. The *bête noir* of the present age is communism, and we should not be surprised to find the Jew accused today of being closely identified with this destructive movement.

A Radical

That he has been so attacked is common knowledge. Perhaps the chief indictment against the modern Jew is that he is by nature a radical and that he is one of the main supporters of the gospel according to Marx. We have it on no less an authority than the nazis that communism is the latest expression of international Jewry, and many conservative people in this country believe that the Communist Party in the United States derives its chief strength from among the Jews. It is asserted that most of

the Jews of the world are at least secretly sympathetic with this new radical movement. The gravity of this accusation justifies us in examining it in some detail; its very timeliness tempts us to approach it in a critical manner.

An Old Story

The attempt to identify the Jews with radical and subversive movements is an old one. It is found in the pages of anti-Semitic literature from the days of the Roman Empire, but the emphasis upon it is decidedly recent. In 1905 the League of Russian People, a reactionary organization, published a pamphlet which contained the following:

"The cry of 'Down with the autocracy' comes from the bloodsuckers who are commonly known as Jews, Armenians, and Poles. Beware of the Jews! They are the root of all evil, the sole cause of all our misfortunes. The glorious moment is already approaching when there will be an end of all Jews in Russia. Down with the traitors! Down with constitutions!"

The last words of this extraordinary blast indicate that the type of radicalism protested against is what we would call democracy. But as the radical menace grew, no time was lost in linking the Jew with its more extreme forms.

Causes

At the outset we must frankly admit that there are causes which predispose the modern Jew to radicalism. He is keenly aware of the fact that he has suffered persecution,

and he inclines naturally to take the side of the underdog. Discuss with an educated Jew the situation in India, about which he cannot be said to have a personal interest, and you will find that he will readily take sides with Mahatma Ghandi and the nationalists against British imperialism. Because of his own history he is out of sympathy with oppression in any form.

This is not unusual. The earliest labor agitators in America were men of Irish birth. Driven out of their own country by tyranny, these men found themselves face to face with a new type of tyranny in the new land. They did not easily lose their militant spirit, and they were the first to resent economic oppression in nineteenth-century America. The "Molly Maguire" movement, the forerunner of the present-day trade unions, owed its origin and development to Irishmen who were fugitives from their native land, and its radical character can be explained by the fact that the men who founded it were toughened in the hard school of affliction. In like manner the consciousness of belonging to a slighted human group has inclined some Jews to a radical attitude of opposition to the state and to society.

Social Characters

This tendency to feel sympathy with the oppressed is also a heritage of the Jewish faith. The religion of the Old Testament tended to make its followers social-minded. Cardinal Faulhaber lays emphasis on this

social character of Judaism in the third of his Advent sermons of 1933 ("Judaism, Christianity and Germany," p. 48, sqq.). The Pentateuch contained many proscriptions which aimed at the safeguarding of the rights of the poor and the stranger. The owner of private property must not be greedy and miserly; he must not collect the last ears from his cornfield, nor the last grapes from his vineyard; what remains belongs to the needy. *(Deut. xxiv, 19-22.)* Every third year a tenth part of the harvest must be given to the poor. *(Deut. xiv, 28.)* Every seventh year anything that grew of itself was to be left for laborers, strangers, and servants. *(Lev. xxv, 4-7.)* The great principle of the Gospel, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," is also found in the Pentateuch. *(Lev. xix, 18.)*

Labor and Property

Again, in an age and at a stage of civilization in which labor was everywhere else branded with the mark of slavery, the Bible recognized the ethical value of labor. It forbade the delaying of the payment of wages *(Deut. xxiv, 14.)* and states: "Woe to him . . . that will oppress his friend without cause, and will not pay him his wages." *(Jer. xxii, 13.)* It also condemned the unjust accumulation of landed property: "Woe to you that join house to house and lay field to field, even to the end of the place. Shall you alone dwell in the midst of the earth?" *(Is. v, 8.)* In every seventh year, the so-called year of pardon, all debts became null and void, all loans expired, and

all those who had been forced by their poverty to sell themselves as slaves became free once more. *(Deut. xv, 1-12.)* In every fiftieth year, the so-called jubilee year, all land which had been alienated or mortgaged through poverty or need became once more the property of its hereditary owners.

Usury

It was also forbidden to demand interest on a loan made to a needy compatriot: "To thy brother thou shalt lend that which he wanteth, without usury." *(Deut. xxiii, 20.)* It is interesting to recall that the Scriptural basis for the medieval proscription of usury was drawn from the Old Testament. From the above it is clear that social values were recognized in the old dispensation. In so far as the religious force of Judaism is operative today, the Jew would be inclined to react against oppression from religious motives. Sometimes this reaction takes an extreme form and tends to radicalism.

The Jewish mind is also conditioned by another factor which may create an atmosphere favorable to radicalism. Judaism is inseparable from the Messianic concept. During the entire course of their history the Israelites have clung to the idea that the Messias would come and establish the Kingdom of God upon earth and would thus inaugurate an era when peace, justice, and good will would reign supreme. This basic idea has undergone several transformations with the passing of the centuries, but in every age the hope has been burned deeply into the Jewish consciousness. Jewish litera-

ture reflects this expectation and hence is always tinged with an apocalyptic and utopian sentiment. The Jews, no less than the rest of mankind, have been affected by the predominant materialism of the modern age, and sometimes their idealistic aspiration for a better world has been colored by this material spirit. This can be seen in the writings of men like Spinoza and Marx, who renounced Judaism and yet were affected by the Jewish Messianic dream.

Foe of Nationalism

Furthermore the Jew has been attracted by the pacifist and international tendencies of the modern radical movements. The Jew, because of his world position, has always been a strong foe of extreme nationalism, which he recognizes as an enemy; and Jewish teaching has consistently maintained an attitude of opposition to war. The fact that the present radical movements have represented themselves as opposed to nationalism and war has made an impression on some Jews.

In discussing the connection between the modern Jew and radicalism, we must bear in mind that the Jews are essentially an urban people. The overwhelming majority of Jews live in cities, a fact that can be explained by their history and particularly by the restrictions which at one time forbade their participation in agriculture. These restrictions have been lifted only in recent years; for instance the Jews were forbidden to own land in Sweden until 1860. Now it is pre-

cisely to the metropolitan masses that radicalism, and especially communism, has made its greatest appeal. Communism has made no progress among the farming groups; it is only among the urban populations, where the evils of industrialism are patent, that the communist has met with success. For this reason alone we might expect that a proportionally larger number of Jews would be attracted to radicalism. In addition many of the present-day Jews have lost the faith of their fathers, which would have provided a bulwark against the drift toward extreme social movements.

Restrictions

Finally the Jew has been made sympathetic to radicalism by the circumstances of the nineteenth century. Every people has been shaped by the forces which have acted upon it in the past, and the Jew is no exception. He is what he is today, not only because of centuries of persecution, but also because of the circumstances of his emancipation. It was only at the beginning of the last century that the age-long restrictions against the Jew began to break down. Everywhere the forces which acted as their solvent were the ideas of the "Age of Enlightenment" and of the French Revolution. Radical parties cried out in protest against the bonds which weighed so heavily upon the Jewish spirit, and it is not extraordinary that the Jews felt kindly towards those men who posed as their saviors. The extreme radical groups which made their appearance as the century progressed con-

tinued this tradition of friendliness to the Jew.

We are aware today of the effort made by the communists to exploit this tradition. Their propaganda is directly calculated to win the allegiance of the Jew. They boast that they have eliminated racial and national prejudice from Russia, which has always been a hotbed of anti-Semitism; they point with pride to Biro-Bidjan, the Jewish autonomous colony in Eastern Siberia, which they are attempting to make into a republic. Thus some Jews are attracted to communism for the same reason which impelled others to embrace Freemasonry in the last century: they are welcomed on a basis of social equality.

Ranks of Conservatives

On the contrary conservative and nationalist groups have generally rejected the Jew with disdain. The leaders of anti-Semitism have always been found in the ranks of the conservative parties. This was true in Germany, in Poland, and in all of the countries of Eastern Europe. In France the famous Dreyfus case was the work of the clerical and the nationalist groups, while the defenders of the accused man came from the left-wing ranks. In Russia the persistent persecution and frequent pogroms were organized by the strong supporters of the autocracy and by the various pan-Slav organizations.

In regard to the condition of the Jew in Russia we may quote from the report of the

Pahlen Commission, a body of government officials appointed by the czar in 1888 to examine Jewish legislation and one which could hardly be accused of Semitic bias:

Pahlen Commission

"How can a state treat a section of the population amounting to five million souls, a twentieth of its subjects, differently from the rest of its people, even if this section is of alien race? In the eyes of the state the Jew ought to enjoy equal rights. So long as this is not the case he cannot properly be held under the same obligations to the state as others. Violations of justice and restrictions of liberty, denials of liberty and persecution have never ameliorated a human community or rendered it more friendly to its rulers. No wonder then that the Jews, who for centuries have been ground to pieces by repressive legislation, are among those subjects who try to avoid their duties to the state and are to a certain extent alien to Russian life. Our statute book contains nearly 650 exceptional laws directed against the Jews, and the result of this has been that the Jews as a rule are badly off. Ninety per cent of the Jewish population consists of an entirely impoverished body, which, not unlike a proletariat, lives from hand to mouth, a miserable existence in the most impossible hygienic and other conditions. These proletarians are not infrequently exposed to outbreaks of mob fury and live in constant dread of pogroms and violence. And the law itself classes the Jews, like the heathen Samoyeds,

as men of an alien race. In short the situation of the Jews is obviously unbearable. And yet they are not aliens in Russia, but have been a component part of the Russian Empire for centuries."

Variety of Causes

This report had no practical effect, and the czars continued their repressive measures right up to the eve of the revolution. Even during the War, when the Jewish men were called upon to defend the fatherland, their families at home were frequently exposed to pogroms and other outbreaks of violence. Can we wonder that they welcomed the fall of the tyrant?

In light of the above we cannot deny that there are a variety of causes impelling the modern Jew to radicalism. Where he has become radical, it is significant that he has fallen to the lure of extreme movements in proportion to the despair created by his environment. It would be reasonable to expect that there would be a mass movement of this people to communism and other subversive groups. Actually this has not occurred. Despite popular belief to the contrary only a small percentage of the total Jewish population of the world has embraced communism. Were we to believe the speeches of the nazi, communism in Germany was entirely a Jewish affair. The fact is that there were about a half million Jews in Germany, while several millions of Germans voted under the hammer and sickle in the elections preceding Hitler's

rise to power. Quite obviously these voters could not all have been Jews. While Jews were found among the communists, the rank and file of the German Jews fought the rise of communism in Germany as actively as did others of the population. Those who did embrace it were drawn chiefly from that section of Jewry whose people had given up their religion and had cut themselves off from all contact with Judaism.

Ghettos

In America there is an analogous situation. Most of our Jewish population is drawn from the ghettos of Poland and of Russia and has carried into the new land a tradition of hostility to the established order. Yet again only a small number of the nearly five million American Jews have become communists. Had they all done so, the Communist Party in America would obviously be much larger and more powerful than it is today. When we examine the lists of the communist membership in the United States, we find that while they contain a fairly large number of Jewish names, the majority of communists in the whole country are non-Jews. Browder, a Kansan with a long American background, and Ford, a Negro, were the national candidates of the party in the last election; and many other prominent communists could be cited to prove that the communist leadership in America is not predominantly Jewish. The contributors to the recently established Marxist Quarterly, the leading communist

intellectual publication, are chiefly non-Jewish.

Objection

While New York, with its two million Jews, many of whom live in slum areas, has provided its share of Jewish converts to the new creed, the communist on the west coast, in the mining districts, and in other sections of the country is not of Jewish birth. The communist appeals to all oppressed groups, as his success among the Negro and the Porto Rican population of our city demonstrates, and in so far as the Jew in America belongs to this stratum, he has been exposed to the enticements of the modern utopians. But it is a slander to label communism in America as a Jewish product.

An objection may be raised at this point: Was not Marx, the founder of communism, a Jew? And is this not proof of the connection of the Jews with this dangerous doctrine? Marx was a Jew in the sense that he was born of Jewish parents. At the age of six he was baptized a Lutheran, and from that time on he had no connection whatever with Judaism. In fact he cordially detested the Jews for their bourgeois spirit and considered them bulwarks of capitalism. The same might be said of all the Jews who have become prominent in the communist movement.

Unfair

Trotsky, for instance, a Jew by birth, was visited by a delegation of rabbis and Jewish laymen in the early days of the revolution in Russia and was asked to dis-

associate himself from a cause that was bringing untold suffering to Jewry. His answer was: "Go home to your Jews and tell them that I am not a Jew, and I care nothing for the Jews and their fate." Now it seems to me extremely unfair to blame the Jews as a whole for the actions of these renegade members of their flock. Can you imagine our indignation if someone attacked us for the activities of an Azaña or a Cardenas, both of whom are baptized Catholics? What would be our response were we to be accused, because the radicals there happen to have come from Catholic parents, of trying to overthrow civilization in Spain? Yet the Jews who support communism have rejected both the Jewish religion and every other distinguishing mark of their people.

Non-Jews

It is also interesting to note that while Marx was a Jew by birth the intellectual progenitors of the founder of communism were not Jews. Marx was not an original thinker; he borrowed from many sources and merely voiced in a more systematic manner a rather widespread protest against the evils of the industrial system. Most of the elements of his doctrine had already been expressed by such men as Hegel, Feuerbach, Owen, Saint-Simon, Proudhon, Blanc, and Fourier. Not one of these was a Jew. The same is true of the spiritual fathers of Bolshevism. In that long list of men who prepared the Russian mind for the acceptance of the present order we look in vain for a member of this particular oppressed

group. This is important, for the Soviet phenomenon is not pure Marxism; it is very definitely conditioned by the Russian mentality, and it owes as much to Lenin and other non-Jewish Russians as it does to Marx.

Misrepresented

The position of the Jews in Soviet Russia has been frequently misrepresented. The Jews as a whole had no love for the czarist *régime*, and most of them were to be found in the parties of the opposition, the constitutional democrats or the social-democrats. The Socialist Party in Russia before the revolution included only sixty thousand of the five million Jews, while the number of Jews in the Bolshevist group was insignificant. While the revolution of March, 1917, which overthrew the czar, was welcomed by the Russian Jews, most of them resisted the Bolshevist attack in November against the provisional government. All three Jewish worker organizations declared against the new movement; the opposition of the Jewish middle class, who saw themselves ruined by the communist experiment, was even more pronounced. This opposition was reflected in the assassination of Uritsky, the head of the notorious Cheka, or secret police, by the Jew Kannegriesser, and in the attempt on the life of Lenin by the Jewess Dora Kaplan.

Both Sides

The Jews suffered severely from both sides in the civil war. After the Bolshevist triumph many of the Jews, especially the intellectuals, submitted to the *régime*,

and some have risen to high positions in the Soviet state, although at no time have they been more than a minority in the ruling bureaucracy. It is interesting to note that most of the Jews in high position have been eliminated since Stalin came to power. Trotsky, the bitter foe of the present dictator, was the first to go; Zinoviev and Kamenev were executed in the summer of 1936; Radek, the leading Soviet journalist, has fallen from grace and has disappeared from the public eye. The only Jews in the present ruling clique are Kaganovitch, the commissar for transportation, and Litvinov, the foreign minister. It has been said that the former, the cleverest man in the *régime*, will not succeed to supreme power in the event of Stalin's death, because of a latent anti-Semitism among those who profess no national distinctions.

Private Trade

The Russian Jews as a whole did not profit by the conversion of some of their compatriots to Bolshevism; if anything, they have suffered more than the rest of the population from Soviet tyranny. Most of the Jews in Russia were engaged in private trade and thus belonged to a class which bore the brunt of the Soviet discriminatory legislation, especially since the revocation of NEP in 1923. The Jewish religion has been proscribed with the same fervor as were the Christian and the Mohammedan. Synagogues have been confiscated and turned into "cultural" centers. The Hebrew language is strictly forbidden, and no Jewish child

may be taught the rudiments of his faith.

Prominent rabbis have been exiled. Yevsektia, the Jewish section of the Communist Party, has led this fight on everything distinctly Jewish. Today no less than thirty-five per cent of the Jewish population belongs to the category of *déclassés*, class enemies who have no legal or economic rights, and there are only five per cent of the non-Jewish population who are thus branded as pariahs. All reference to Zionism has been outlawed. Even the so-called autonomous Biro-Bidjan can harbor no Jewish cultural or religious institutions, and every immigrant must be certified as acceptable to the party chieftains. It is no wonder that thinking Jews the world over see the liquidation of the communist *régime* in Russia as the only salvation for their co-religionists in that unhappy land. As Simon Dubnov, the greatest historian of Russian Jewry, who is now in exile, puts it: "Two-and-a-half million men and women are placed between an appalling present and an even more appalling future, faced by the choice between a Red and a White dictatorship, between dying out and dying a violent death. Never before has the Jewish people been confronted with a more terrible alternative."

Against Radical Solution

We have seen that while there are certain factors inclining the modern Jew to radicalism, for the most part he has resisted the attraction of extremist movements. The strongest antidote to a drift toward radi-

calism on the part of the Jew has been his religion. While Judaism has, as we have seen, a decidedly social complexion, it has always set its face against a radical solution of social problems. So true is this that Judaism has always been recognized as a particularly conservative faith. Jews who have remained loyal to their religion are practically never found in the ranks of radicalism. Even those who have discarded the practice of their faith, as so many modern Jews have, often retain enough of its spirit to incline them to opposition to communism. The whole notion of the totalitarian state is hostile to the Jewish tradition, and the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat makes little appeal to a people who have found themselves so often identified with the interests of the middle class. Finally the sense of possession and private ownership is strong with the Jew, and he does not readily sympathize with a philosophy that would destroy both.

The Same Appeal

Enough has been said to show that there is nothing in the theory of a special racial disposition on the part of the Jew to accept radicalism. The Jew stands before the modern world and makes the same plea that his fathers have made for centuries: a fair chance to develop his potentialities. The characteristics that we find in him are for the most part acquired; he did not possess them originally, as a study of the Old Testament will convince us, but he has developed them during long centuries of perse-

cution. He is inclined to be sympathetic with any movement which will promise him equality of opportunity. For was he not friendly with fascism in Italy because of the fair treatment accorded by Mussolini? He is not naturally a radical, nor are most Jews actively so today. But there is a great danger that a persistent anti-Semitism will eventually drive him into the arms of the modern enemies of civilization.

III

THE WHY OF ANTI-SEMITISM

We have previously indicated that the term anti-Semitism is very inexact in that the ill-feeling implied in the term is not directed against the Semites as a whole but solely against the Jewish people, the majority of whom are not Semites and who have not used a Semitic language as their mother tongue for over two thousand years. The word however has been sanctified by use, and in regard to the underlying fact there can be no doubt: There has been a widespread antipathy to this people since they first came into contact with the world force that is Hellenism. This dislike has defied temporal and geographical barriers, and it is natural to ask why the Jews have been the object of so much hostility.

It is not an easy question to answer. When we read the pages written by the enemies of the Jew, we find all kinds of reasons given to explain the animosity that is so evident in these writings. Often these

charges are difficult to reconcile. Today we find the Jews condemned as the outstanding exponents of predatory capitalism, and the next day they are denounced as the fomenters of world revolution. In addition anti-Semitism always has a strong local coloration: In the war period the Jews in Germany were frequently charged as being friendly with the Allied cause; in Russia and in Roumania they were persecuted as pro-German. Finally it has a tendency to accommodate itself to the *Zeitgeist:* Today most of the attacks on the Jew have a nationalist tinge; in the Middle Ages the charges were often clothed in a religious garb.

The True Motive

Anti-Semitism has been the chameleon of history; it is constantly changing its ground; it is always making new appeals to the particular prejudices of the age; it appropriates the most hated labels of any period and attaches them to this unhappy people. Were the Jews ever guilty of even a fraction of the charges raised against them by their enemies, they would be sunk to a level of moral and intellectual depravity unparalleled in the history of mankind. It is the very diversity and extravagance of these accusations which make them incredible. Whatever the Jew might be, certainly he could not be everything his detractors have affirmed.

It is evident to anyone who reads anti-Semitic literature that the true motive for the attack upon the Jew often lies beneath

the surface. It is noteworthy that in early medieval times the Jews had a virtual monopoly on international trade, and yet anti-Semitism was practically nonexistent. With the rise of towns and commerce at the time of the Crusades there was a marked increase in feeling against the Jew which manifested itself precisely in those places in which trade was a growing concern, such as Venice and the Hansa towns of Germany. And yet almost invariably the reason given for the outbursts of anti-Jewish sentiment in these localities was that the Jew was antithetical to Christian ideals and practices. This same tendency to cloak in the noble garments of religious or racial idealism the passion and self-interest underlying the hatred for the Jew is found in every age.

Not Agreed

It is interesting to note that the Jews themselves are not agreed as to the causes of the rancor they have aroused. The Orthodox Jews often ascribe their misfortunes to their own sins and see no hope for an amelioration of their condition until the Kingdom of God is established with the coming of the Messias. Liberal Jews usually view anti-Semitism as a product of ancient prejudices that will be dissipated with a growing enlightenment and the gradual assimilation of the Jews with the people among whom they live. Zionists assert that the basis of the ill will from which they have suffered is the fact that the Jews are a nation without a homeland, and they expect no change until

Israel is once more established among the nations. Marxists view anti-Semitism as a corollary of the class war and as an effort on the part of those in power to divert the attention of the masses from their real enemies, the capitalists.

Faced with this welter of conflicting opinions, which could be extended considerably, it is difficult to uncover the fundamental causes of the anti-Jewish bias. Considering the subject broadly, we may set down three basic factors which have contributed to anti-Semitic feeling.

Antagonism Natural

First of all the fact that the Jews profess a religion different from that of the people among whom they dwell has had an influence on their history. Religious differences cause friction among men in proportion to the intensity with which such beliefs are held. Men are never tolerant of anything that concerns them deeply; and in those periods when religion was the supreme concern of man it was natural that some antagonism should be felt for those who professed contrary doctrines. This resentment has been heightened in the case of the Jew by the tenacity with which he has held to his religion throughout the greater part of his history and by the fact that Judaism has often appeared to men as a particularly alien and exclusive creed. Since the Dispersion the Jewish leaders have made a conscious effort to hold their people to their

traditional faith by a growing emphasis on the Law.

To Stress Distinction

The ritual and dietary prescriptions of the Talmudic Judaism were designed primarily to stress the distinction between the chosen people and the Gentiles, and as the faith of the Jew was exposed to greater temptations because of his wanderings among the nations, these distinguishing features of Jewish religious practice assumed a greater importance. They served their purpose of erecting a hedge around the ancient faith, but they also aroused the hostility of men of other creeds. Even the Romans, with their tradition of tolerance, felt an antipathy to Judaism, and while they ordinarily permitted its free exercise, an undercurrent of antagonism to its "peculiar" character can be traced in most of the writings of antiquity.

Religious Fanaticism

While religious differences have played their part in crystallizing sentiment against the Jew, it is very easy to exaggerate the importance of this factor. Many modern authors consider religious fanaticism as the fundamental cause of anti-Semitism. This view is set forth in the famous work of Heinrich Coudenhove-Kalergi, which was translated into English under the title of "Anti-Semitism Throughout the Ages," published in London in 1935. According to this opinion Christianity is essentially hostile to its parent because of the circumstances of

our Savior's life and death; and the bitterness was intensified by the subsequent rejection of the new religion by the majority of the Jews. The two thousand years that have passed since the foundation of Christianity are simply a record of the aversion of the Christian for the Jew.

Undoubtedly this point of view is highly exaggerated. Although the Jews' rejection of Christ's teaching did, it is true, leave its impression on Christian consciousness, as can be seen from the liturgy of Good Friday, it can hardly be the prime cause of anti-Semitism. The fact that Christ was rejected by many of the chosen people is offset by the equally important consideration that Mary, the Apostles, and most of the early Christians were themselves Jews. The Old Testament has been accepted in its entirety by Christianity, and the new religion could never forget that it was shaped to a great extent by that teaching of which it was merely the fulfillment. Besides, the above theory could not explain the antipathy to the Jew in non-Christian lands, nor the present attack upon him, which emanates almost entirely from nonreligious, and often anti-Christian, forces. Whatever influence the religious factor may have had in the past, it certainly cannot be blamed for the viciousness of a Hitler or a Rosenberg.

The Talmud

Equally unsatisfactory is the position of those who would trace the origin of anti-Semitism to the malicious character of the

Jewish religion. To sustain the thesis that Judaism wishes the destruction of everything connected with Christianity, writers of this class have placed their greatest reliance upon the Talmud. Enlightened men, and certainly all Christians, have always regarded the religion of the Old Testament as one of the most sublime products of the human spirit. When other nations clung to a degraded paganism, the Jews of antiquity, stimulated by divine inspiration, evolved a pure monotheism that provided an ideal basis for the teaching of Christ. Theirs was a religion of holiness, justice, and mercy, in which God was visioned, not only as the Lord of the chosen people, but also as the Father of the entire human race, a being who was to be worshiped, not only by sacrifice, but also by love, prayer, good works, and by conformity to the highest ethical standard of antiquity. The great prophets foresaw the Messianic kingdom as a reign of peace and brotherly love in which the nations would beat their swords into ploughshares and all men would be filled with the knowledge of God. Even Israel's hereditary enemies were not excluded from this kingdom: "Blessed be my people of Egypt, and the work of my hands to the Assyrian; but Israel is my inheritance." *(Isaias xix, 25.)*

Diverse Opinions

Because of the high character of ancient Judaism only the most extreme calumniators of the Jew have dared to impugn it. They

show no such reticence in regard to the Talmud, that huge collection of law, ceremonial, and general information that was the product of the Diaspora. The Talmud is an enormous unclassified work, occupying twelve closely printed volumes of about a thousand pages each in the German translation of Lazarus Goldschmidt. It was the fruit of more than twenty-five hundred separate authors and was accumulated gradually over a period of nearly a thousand years, until it was finally completed in its classical Babylonian form in about 500 A. D. Hence it contains the most diverse, and often contradictory, opinions on a great variety of subjects and includes "the most varied shades of piety and ethical thinking, casual dialogues of a general nature, private utterances of teachers totally devoid of any binding implication." It is an encyclopedia of an age and of the life of a people in which law is mixed with moral exhortation, legend, science, history, and superstition—a collection intended, not as a definite code, but as material for study and edification.

Various Interpretations

As might be expected, such an unwieldy collection provides a handy arsenal for the critic of Judaism, especially since the lack of vowel signs in the original opens up the possibility of varied interpretations. Since it was the product of the Dispersion, and since its avowed purpose was to preserve the ancient religion by emphasizing its exclusive features, it is natural that

certain sections of it should provide material for those who would picture the Jews as enemies of the human race. Because of certain objectionable passages it was condemned by the Inquisition in 1242, and twenty-four wagons piled with copies were publicly burned in Paris.

Erroneous Impressions

In modern times the Talmud has been more viciously attacked by the enemies of the Jew. From the publication of Eisenmeyer's *"Entdecktes Judentum"* (1700) slanderous stories have been circulated to the effect that the Talmud teaches that it is a virtue for a Jew to kill a Christian, that all crimes against Gentiles are permissible, and that the Israelites are not bound by the moral law in dealing with those outside their faith. Despite the fact that these extravagances have been disproved frequently by Christian scholars, the erroneous impression still persists that the Talmud inculcates hostility to non-Jews. Although a few isolated passages may be cited to give an appearance of truth to this assertion—which is easy to explain when we remember the sufferings of the Jewish people during the period when the Talmud was produced—the great bulk of this monumental work is true to the older Hebraic concept that justice must be done to all men, irrespective of race or religion. When the famous Rabbi Hillel was asked by a pagan for a synopsis of the Law, he answered: "Do not unto thy neighbor that which is hateful to thyself. That

is the whole doctrine; all else is explanation." A thirteenth-century commentator, Rabbi Menachem Meiri, sums up the teaching of the Talmud in regard to the Gentiles thus: "Any member of a people who leads a moral and religious life and worships God in some way ought, even if his faith differs from ours, to be regarded in every respect as an Israelite." Certainly any fair analysis of this collection of Jewish lore will reveal that it demands kindness and justice to all men as the first obligation of religion.

Hence both Christianity and Judaism preach brotherly love and understanding, and, theoretically at least, no basis is found in either creed for the anomaly of religious hatred. If individual Christians or Jews give vent to these sentiments, they do so despite the precise teaching of their religion to the contrary. Hence it is hard to see how religious differences could be the prime cause of anti-Semitism, even though it must be admitted that such considerations have played some part in the long history of this phenomenon.

Economic Factor

The second factor contributing to anti-Semitism is the economic. Originally the Jew showed little aptitude for commercial activities. The ancient Hebrews were almost exclusively farmers and herdsmen, and the Bible gives eloquent evidence of their love for the land. Only when they were forced to leave their homeland and came in contact with the highly commercial

Babylonians and Greeks did the Jews develop that instinct for commerce which characterizes them today. During the Middle Ages they were forbidden to own land, and their choice of profession was restricted by law to trade and moneylending. After the Crusades even commerce was largly forbidden them, and they were driven to seek their livelihood in the lending of money at interest.

Usury was forbidden to the Christian by ecclesiastical law, but the growing economic activity of the later medieval period made credit necessary. The Jews supplied this need, not because of any predisposition, but simply because all other avenues were closed. They were protected in this capacity by the kings and local rulers, who needed money and who found a lucrative source of revenue in the annual fees which the Jews paid for "protection." In an age which knew no systematic taxation the readiest reservoir of cash was found to be the Jew, who was squeezed for as much as possible. The insatiable demands of the public authorities and the insecurity of their own position forced these moneylenders to charge exorbitant rates of interest, which further embittered the populace against them. It was during this period that the popular notion of the Jew's natural thirst for gold first arose—a charge that was unknown before the twelfth century. It is significant that in the two-volume index to Thalhofer's well-known German edition of the Christian Fathers, a work of eighty large volumes,

the word Jew does not occur a single time under the following headings: usury, covetousness, avarice, exaction of interest.

Accidental Character

Bernard Lazare, who can hardly be accused of bias in favor of the Jew, comments, in a recent edition of his classic, "*L'Anti-Semistisme, Son Histoire et Ses Causes*," on the accidental character of the Israelites' connection with finance.

"The Jews did not invent the practice of usury. . . . The canons of the Church proscribed the loaning of money at interest; but the social conditions were such that usury was inevitable; the ecclesiastical synods could not change the laws of economics. . . . The Jews were forced to conduct a business that was discredited, but necessary. They were not the cause of the evils of usury, which stemmed from the social order itself." (p. 182)

And again:

"The Christian has demoralized the Jew by abasing him into nothing more than a trader and a ursurer and then forcing him to keep silent and become inconspicuous in order to avoid persecution. Often his need to gain a livelihood and at the same time keep the peace forced the Jew into dishonesty, duplicity, and resignation." (p. 35)

"Deceit and bad faith were the only arms they had to defend themselves." (p. 232)

An Integral National Life

At the same time that the Jew was being driven into a very limited field of economic

activity, he was being compelled to live in a restricted area, the ghetto, the walls of which were locked at night; and he was forced to wear distinctive clothes and the infamous "Jew-badge." It was only in the last century that many of these economic and social restrictions were removed; and we can hardly expect the Jew to rid himself, in such a short period, of characteristics which took centuries to develop. That he is making the effort can be seen in Palestine today, where the Jewish immigrants are attempting to build up an integral national life founded on the land. They have thrown themselves wholeheartedly into the task of soil-reclamation and have shown a remarkable aptitude for agriculture. Before the present wave of violence in the Holy Land the Jews were succeeding in their effort to restore the land of their fathers and to make it once again to flow with milk and honey. Irrigation projects were developed on a large scale, new types of plants and fruits were introduced, and in every way this persecuted people were giving the lie to the old canard that they were fit for nothing but business. (In this connection, *vide*: "*Le Retour d'Israel*," by M. Marin, Paris. *Desclée, de Brouwer et Cie.*)

The Lost Cause

The fact that their economic activities have been confined chiefly to commerce and finance has been regretted by the Jews themselves, and it has had the effect of making them disliked by the people among whom they live. The fact that the Gentile has

been forced to face the higher competitive skill of the Jew in business has been a fertile source of anti-Semitic feeling.

The last broad cause of anti-Semitism has been national sentiment. The Jew has always been an alien in Western Europe with markedly different religious, cultural, and national characteristics. He has always been a minority among a foreign people, and for most of his history he has clung tenaciously to his own culture. As a result he has been disliked as a nonconformist. This is particularly true in modern times, when nationalism has been magnified into a dogma and when men have become extremely intolerant of national differences. There is no doubt that the present wave of anti-Semitism can be ascribed to this cause. Yet strangely enough even where the Jew has become assimilated and has developed strong affection for the national ideal, as in Germany, he is despised by the supernationalist and condemned as a foreigner. In fact his very attempt to make himself like the rest of his compatriots, even discarding his religion in the process, has given the greatest offense to his nazi persecutors.

Enemy of Judaism

A glance at the contemporary world will reveal that nationalism is today the most universal and most vicious enemy of Judaism. Whatever may be said of the past, religious and economic factors are no longer the root causes of anti-Semitism. In our time the chief attack upon the Jew comes

from those who have subscribed to a doctrine of racial supremacy and who desire to eliminate "foreign racial" elements from the life of a country. Today anti-Semitism stems from the conception of the absolute subordination of the individual to the state. Now the chief complaint against the Jew is that he holds beliefs and practices that do not permit his coordination in the absolutist state; that he has loyalties which transcend the boundaries of the nation; that he professes a religion which is universal and hence inimical to the particularist doctrine of a homogeneous people founded on a common blood and soil.

Common Foe

It is not hard to see that the same complaints formulated by the ardent nationalists against the Jew apply equally to ourselves. Whatever a Catholic may think of the Jew, he cannot escape the fact that he and the Jew have a common enemy in extreme nationalism. We live in an age in which the ideal of the nation is enshrined as the highest embodiment of the human spirit. All deviations from this ideal, be they spiritual or material, are viewed as a danger to the well-being of the people as a whole. Nationalism has reached that point in its evolution which makes it equally dangerous to the Jewish and the Christian concept of life, and both these international religions are equally hated for the same reasons by the fanatical patriots of the postwar period.

It is no accident that the chief enemies of Judaism in Germany, the extreme national socialists of the Streicher, Darré, Himmler, or Rosenberg type, are also the chief opponents of Christianity and the most ardent devotees of the new paganism that would resurrect the tribal gods of primitive Germany. Since the days of the *Kulturkampf* intelligent Catholics in Germany have realized this truth. It was no accident that the Center Party took no part in the Jew-baiting that was so common before the War, and Cardinal Faulhaber's defense of Old Testament Judaism in his Advent sermons was inspired by this conviction. As early as the time of Bismarck it was evident that the prophets of the new nationalism would find a common grievance against Jew and Catholic; today it is still more obvious. If the evolution continues, we may well expect that the circle of persecution will widen still further in proportion to the growth of the totalitarian concept; for if absolutism is to prevail, both Judaism and Christianity must be liquidated for the very same reasons.

Having discussed the causes of anti-Semitism, and having traced the religious, economic, and nationalistic sources of this persistent phenomenon, we may be permitted to seek some practical applications of our information. Many of our contemporaries profess to dislike the Jews because of disagreeable relations with individual members of this people in business or in the profes-

sions. I believe that when we meet such instances it is only fair to seek for the basic reason. Are these undesirable characteristics of some modern Jews the product of an inherent defect in this people, or are they the result of historical circumstances? In other words, are the Jews as they are because they wish to be so, or because some inherited disposition impels them in that direction? Or are they thus because they have been molded by forces beyond their control?

Cultural Influences

To answer these queries we must reflect that most of the so-called national traits are the product of cultural influences. We are trained to seek always the cause, and most emphatically there must be a cause for the development of these cultural traits. Essentially all men are the same; all have a common physical and spiritual nature. Individuals however differ greatly, and a wide variety of temperament is discernible even in a single family. Thus one may be belligerent, another pacific; one avaricious, another unselfish; one conservative, another radical. So universal are these differences that whenever we find large groups with any particular common characteristic we can trace this canalization, as it is called, to definite causes. Powerful extrinsic causes are required to smooth off the naturally diverse characteristics of individuals and mold them into a more or less recognizable group.

One factor which makes for the production of a definite human type is persecution. The populations subject to the misrule of the Turks were long famous for those very traits which we usually ascribe to the Jews. It is an old adage in the East that it takes seven Jews to take the measure of one Greek in business, and seven Greeks to outwit one Armenian—testimony that people who have been subject to long persecution find outlet for their energies in any channel open to them. No one denies that many distinguishing marks, both favorable and unfavorable, of the Irish people are the result of persecution. The same is true in the case of the Jew, and in his instance the record of persecution has been longer and more galling than any other in history.

Additional confirmation of this conclusion can be found in the data of psychology and in the doctrine of original sin. The findings of modern science bear out the traditional assertion of Catholic dogma: that every man has within him a potentiality for evil, which may be kept under control in favorable circumstances but which tends to come to the surface in periods of weakness or stress. Catholic chaplains who served with German and French regiments that remained at the front for long periods record the progressive moral disintegration which took place in the souls of normal religious men who were subject to intolerable and unnatural conditions for a considerable time. Now persecution is a form of warfare,

and undoubtedly the Jews, as well as other persecuted peoples, have been unfavorably affected by the barbarous treatment they have so long received.

Testimony of History

We must bear in mind these facts when we read certain naïve proposals for the solution of the "Jewish problem." The attitude of many toward the people of Israel may be summed up thus: "Let them cease to be as they are, and we will like them." We might as well say to a man: "Stop being six feet tall, and I will care for you." Just as a man's height is conditioned by the laws of growth, so a people's character is molded by their history, and traits can be broken down only by that same slow process by which they were introduced.

To deny the actuality of the forces which determined the formation of the Jewish soul is to deny the obvious testimony of history. To pass strict moral judgment upon a people who have been bred in the bitter cauldron of hate and oppression is to neglect the basic laws of justice and charity. It is far more reasonable to try to understand the modern Jew in the light of the conditions which have shaped him. Nor is it beside the point to insist that, not only is this the rational view, but it is the only one consistent with the high principles of our Christian faith.

A

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